

bricks in mortar, partly in mud ; on the outer face the earth sloped Riverwards as if tipped in from the wall ; it had behind it a sort of floor roughly laid, small khoa over a large quantity of oyster shells and brick rubbish.

*Essays on Bihári Declension and Conjugation.*—By G. A.  
GRIERSON, B. C. S.

A. INTRODUCTORY.

The dialects of the Bihári\* language present many interesting facts to the student of philology. Hitherto only two of these dialects have been thoroughly investigated, and each of these in one special form. Dr Hoernle's Grammar treats of the Bhojpúri dialect as spoken near Banáras, where it is by no means free from the influence of its neighbour the Baiswári, and the present author's Maithilí grammar treats mainly of the standard dialect of the centre of Mithilá. The Mágadhí dialect has not been treated of in any form, but it will be found a most useful object of study, as showing the stepping-stone between the somewhat archaic forms contained in standard Maithilí, and the more phonetically attrited forms which we find in Bhojpúri. The last language, extending to nearly the centre of Hindústán, and spoken by a warlike energetic race may be considered as the most phonetically advanced of the three Bihári dialects. Its people have no literature to which their speech can be referred, and with the energy peculiar to their race they have disembarrassed themselves to a large extent of the somewhat cumbrous grammatical forms of their ancestors, and have succeeded in wearing down periphrases and compounds into new words bearing no outward sign of their origin. The inhabitants of Mithilá, on the contrary, intensely conservative from beyond historic times,† and possessing a literature dating from the fourteenth century, have changed their language but little during all this period. As Maithilí was born at the time when the Gaudian languages first emerged from the Prákrít, so it has remained to the present day, and the herd-boy, as he tends his buffaloes in 1882, speaks the same language as that in which the old master-singer Vidyápati sang of the loves of Rádhá and Kṛishṇa to king Siv Singh five centuries ago. It is to Maithilí therefore that we must look for the earliest forms of Bihári declension, and if we do we shall rarely be disap-

\* This is the name which I have adopted here and elsewhere for the "Eastern Hindí language" treated of by Dr. Hoernle in his Gaudian Grammar.

† At the marriage of Sítá, which took place at Janakapura in Mithilá, Rám is said, in Maithil tradition, to have cursed the haughty Maithil Bráhmans, who refused to hold any account of the foreign prince from Audh. The curse runs,

गृहे शूरा, रणे भीता, परस्परविरोधिनः ।  
कुलाभिमानिनो यूयं मिथिलायां भविष्यथ ॥

pointed. Mágadhí all this time held a middle course. Its peculiar home was the hilly country about Bihár and Gayá, where there was little intercourse with other tribes, and little mental or material progress. It had no literature, and therefore nothing to retard, while it had little to aid its progress. Hence its middle position between the antique Maithilí, and the practical work-a-day Bhojpúrí.

The object of these papers is to bring to a common focus all the information which I have collected concerning the dialects of Bihár, and to lay them in this shape before the Society. I shall treat mainly of the following dialects :

- A. Bhojpúrí, spoken in west Bihár.
- B. Mágadhí, spoken in south Bihár.
- C. Maithilí, spoken in north and east Bihár.

Of the last there are two sub-dialects.

- 1. North Maithilí spoken in north Tirhut and Bhagalpúr.
- 2. South Maithilí spoken in south-east Tirhut, and north Munger.

Besides these the dialects of language borderlands will be considered, *viz.* :—

- A. The Baiswáří of the Rámáyan of Tulsí Dás, which is the border dialect between Biháří (Bhojpúrí) and Hindí.
- B. The dialects of the border land between Biháří (Maithilí) and Bangálí, spoken in (1) south Bhagalpúr, and (2) central and western Purníyá.

I shall also have occasion to refer to the dialects of dialect borderlands, *viz.* :

- A. Maithilí-Bhojpúrí of south-west Tirhut.
- B. Maithilí-Mágadhí of south Munger.

There is not any borderland of importance between Mágadhí and Bhojpúrí. The following table shows the relative positions of these dialects and sub-dialects.

H I N D I 	B a i s w á r í 	B h o j p ú r í 	M A I T H I L Í 	N o r t h 	M a i t h i l í 	B a n g á l í 
	B a n á r a s - B h o j p ú r í 		M a i t h i l - B h o j p ú r í 	N o r t h 	M a i t h i l í 	M a i t h i l - B a n g á l í 
			M á g a d h í 	S o u t h 	M a i t h i l í 	
				M a i t h i l - M á g a d h í 		

## B. DECLENSION.

I. *Case.*

I divide the consideration of this point into two heads :

a. Organic declension.

β. Inorganic declension.

By organic declension, I mean that kind of declension which is not formed by postpositions; but by actual inflection. By inorganic declension I mean that kind of declension which is formed by postpositions added to a base whether inflected or not.

In Bihári there is a very full organic declension in the singular number. It is found in its fullest form in the north Maithilí dialect, and the terminations are as follows. They can only be added to the weak\* form of a noun.

	Baiswári of Rámáyan.	North Maithilí.	Other Bihári dialects.	
Nom.	—	—	—	
Acc.	हि, हिँ	हि, हिँ	—	
Instr.	एँ, ऐँ	एँ	एँ*	
	हि, हिँ	हि, हिँ		* In South-Bhagulpúri ऐ, e. g. भूखै मरै बी, 'I die of hunger.' In Purniyá, the form is ऐँ, भूखै मरै बी. In western Bhojpúri it is अन, हम भखन मरीला.
Dat.	हि, हिँ	ऊँ	—	
		ऊ	—	
Abl.	हि, हिँ	हि	—	
		ऊ, ऊँ	—	
Gen.	हि, हिँ	ऊ	—	
	र, सु	र, सु, अ	—	
Loc.	ए	ए	ए	
	हि, हिँ	हि, हिँ		
	ऊ, ऊँ	ऊ, ऊँ		

\* I adopt the terms weak, strong, short, long, and redundant, from Hoernle's *Gauḍian Grammar*. §§ 201, 356.

The following are examples of the above terminations :

*A.—Baiswári.*

*Acc.* हि,—नब ब्रह्मा धरनिहि समुभावा, 'then Brahmá advised the earth.' *Rám. Bá. ch.* 199, 9.

हिं,—रामहिँ प्रेम समेत लखि सखिन समीप बुलाइ, 'beholding Rám with affection she called near her friends.' *Rám. Bá. do.* 265, 1.

*Instr.* हि,—रघुपति सैनहि लखन निबारे, 'Rám warned Lakhan with a sign.' *Rám. Bá. ch.* 284, 8.

हिं,—प्रभु आद्रहिँ प्रेम पदिचानी पूढहिँ कुसल, 'the Lord, sensible of their affection, asked their welfare with politeness.' *Rám. A. ch.* 25, 2.

रैँ,—पाकैँ अनहित मन कुटिलाई, 'Behind one's back an enemy in the viciousness of his soul.' *Rám. Kis. ch.* 7, 7, where पाकैँ is in the instrumental case, much like the Hindí पीछे से, which means both 'behind' (*instr.*) and 'from behind' (*abl.*).

रैँ,—जल हिमउपल विलग नहिँ जैँसैँ, 'as water is not different from crystallized ice.' *Rám. Bá. ch.* 123, 11.

*Dat.* हि—सब रीति प्रीति समेत करि सो व्याहि त्रिप भरतहि द्यौ, 'after affectionately performing every rite, the king gave (her) in marriage to Bharat.' *Rám. Bá. chh.* 49, 4.

हिं,—बड बिधि चेरिहिँ आद्र देइ, 'in many ways he shows honour to the bondmaid.' *Rám. A. ch.* 24, 4.

*Abl.* हि,—गुरुहि पूछि करि कुलबिधि राजा, 'the king having inquired from the guru, performed the family rites.' *Rám. Bá. ch.* 319, 8.

हिं,—मातुहिँ पितहिँ उरिन भये नौके, 'from your mother and your father you have well become debt-absolved.' *Rám. Bá. ch.* 284, 2.

*Gen.* हि,—बोलत लखनहि जनक डेराहीँ, 'at the words of Lakhan, Janak became afraid.' *Rám. Bá. ch.* 286, 4.

हिं,—राजहिँ तुम पर बडत सनेह, 'There is a great love of the king for you.' *Rám. A. ch.* 40, 6.

सु,—only used with pronouns (omitting 1st and 2nd personal pronouns) तासु निकट पुनि सब चलि आये, 'again, all approached hers.' *Rám. Kis. ch.* 25, 3.

र,—only used with 1st and 2nd personal pronouns, मैँ अरु मेर तौर तैँ माया, 'an illusion (arising) from egoism and from "mine" and "thine."' *Rám. Ar. ch.* 12, 2.



*Loc.* हि,—उबरा से जनवाँसहि आवा, 'what remained over went into the guests' quarters.' *Rám. Bá. ch. 332, 7.*

भोरहि आजु नहाइ प्रयाग, 'at dawn to-day having bathed at Prayág.' *Rám. A. ch. 262, 6.*

हिँ,—सब तर फरे रामहित लागी, रितु अनरितुहिँ कालगति त्यागी, 'to please Rám every tree was laden with fruit, whether in season or not in season, without regard to the time of year.' *Rám. Ln. ch. 6, 5.*

ऊ,—हठ कीन्हे अन्तऊ उर दाह, 'if he persist in obstinacy, in the end it burns his bosom.' *Rám. Bá. ch. 259, 5.*

ऊँ,—अन्तऊँ कीच तहाँ जहँ पानी, 'where there is water, in the end there will be mud.' *Rám. A. ch. 175, 4.*

ए,—पाहे पवनतनय सिर नावा, 'afterwards the son of the wind bowed his head.' *Rám. Kis. ch. 23, 9.*

The terminations ऐँ of the instrumental, and ऊ, ऊँ and ए of the locative are rare in the Rámáyan, and survive only in a few indeclinables like पाहेँ, पाहे, अन्तऊ, &c. There may be isolated instances of ऊ and ऊँ being used to form other cases, but I have not noted them in the course of my reading.

Probably the Baiswári case postpositions सँ, तँ, में, and others are also instrumentals, cf. *post* Maithilí जँ, ऐँ, and तँ.

NOTE. It is better to consider this form in ऐँ as an instrumental, and not as a locative, as (1) the locative is already supplied with another organic termination and (2) comparison with the Maithilí dialect shows the termination as exclusively used in the instrumental case in that dialect, and (3) other dialects such as Panjábí and Maráṭhí show traces of the same tendency. See *post*, under head of derivation.

#### B.—*Maithilí.*

*Acc.* हि,—हमर से हित जे सत्रुहि आन, 'he is my friend who brings my enemy.' *Man'bodh, 6, 39.*

हिँ,—खेत महिँसी चर, पड़रहिँ मार, 'the buffalos are grazing in the field, beat the calves.' *Prov.*

*Instr.* हि,—बान्ह कान सभ फोफ़ल बलहि, 'he opened the bonds and fetters with violence.' *Man. 4, 42.*

हिँ,—अचरहिँ झारि भुरि दितऊँ, 'I would have swept it with my body-cloth,' *Nág Songs, No. 1.*

ऊँ,—अधरऊँ आध सेहयो दुरि गेला, '(as much as I would say) with half my lip, that also is gone far away,' *Vid. 73, 4.*

*Instr.* एँ,—कमर बाँधे कुरिँ काटारैँ, 'he binds his waist with knife and dagger,' *Mars.* 4, 1.

This example is Musalmání-Maithilí, and the words may be nom. plurals fem. borrowed from Úrdú. I shall hence give other examples.

गोरि मागु गौरबैँ आन्हरि, a fair woman is blinded by pride.  
*Prov.*

नेरु हरेनेँ जेहन धेनु गाफ़, 'like a cow (distracted) by the losing of her calf,' *Man.* 3, 17.

To this must be added the very common colloquial forms एँ 'by this,' जेँ, 'by which,' तेँ, 'by that' which occur in literature only in company with prepositions; and the illative conjunction तेँ, or तैँ, 'therefore.' Examples of the first are,

एँ परि रासक मण्डल भेल, 'in this way was the circle of the *rás.*' *Man.* 6, 5.

जेँ परि पहरु सति गेल, 'in what way the guards had gone to sleep.' *Ib.*, 17.

The following are colloquial examples, not made to order. एँ, कये ई भेल, 'for this reason (by this), it happened by conversation.'

जेँ कानेँ खीमझागवत सनल कोरान नहिँ सुनि सकैकी, 'I cannot hear the *Kurán* by the ears, with which I have heard the *S'rímad bhágavat.*'

अपने केँ प्रसन्न देखलन्हि, तेँ ओ ऐलाह, 'he saw you pleased, therefore he came.'

अपना मँ ऐक्य नहिँ हल, तेँ बिपत्ति परल, 'there was no unity amongst themselves, thence fell the adversity.'

कयेँ कयेँ भगड़ा भेल, 'by discussions a quarrel arose.'

Compare the following example of the instr. of की 'what?'

कथीँ हमरा चोर बनवैकी, 'why do you make me out a thief?'

Classical examples of the use of तेँ or तैँ are the following : तेँ नहिँ करथि गरासे, 'therefore he does not eclipse it.' *Vid.* 14, 8.

तैँ नहिँ कमल सुखाई, 'therefore the lotus does not dry up.' *Vid.* 14, 6.

- Dat.* ऊ,—सबऊ जथोचित कौल परनाम, 'to all he made meet reverence.'  
*Man.* 9, 62.
- Abi.* हि,—नेन्दहि सिख चरबाहि अहीर, from boyhood cowherds learn  
cattle-tending. *Man.* 4, 12.
- ऊ,—ओतऊ मनोरथ ओहने रहल, 'from that place their hopes  
remained equally (unsatisfied).' *Man.* 1, 8.
- ऊँ,—किऊ नहिँ ततऊँ भेल, 'nothing came to pass from there.'  
*Ib.* 7.
- Gen.* ऊ,—अकरूडऊ चलक डौल, 'a means of the going of Akrúr.'  
*Man.* 7, 17.
- सु,—*only used with pronouns* (omitting 1st and 2nd personal  
pronouns), जसु मन परम तरासे, 'whose mind trembles  
exceedingly,' *Vid.* 7, 5.
- र,—*only used with 1st and 2nd personal pronouns*, नहिँ मोर  
देओर, 'he is not my brother-in-law,' *Vid.* 79, 7.
- अ,—*only used in the 2nd personal pronoun*, पाए परसल मातु  
तुअ पानी, 'my feet have touched thy water, O mother,'  
*Vid.* 78, 3.
- Loc.* हि,—जमुना हरदहि गेल ब्रजनाथ, 'into the Jamuná-pool went  
Krishṇ.' *Man.* 4, 18.
- हिँ,—अदंकहिँ सिंदुर मेट गेल, 'in her astonishment, the vermilion  
was rubbed off,' *Vid.* 26, 4.
- गदरी खेतहिँ सुखा छल, 'the *gadari* has dried up in the fields.'  
*Famine song*, 12.
- ऊ,—पकडऊ निपुन परम ब्रजनाथ, 'Krishṇ was extremely skilled  
in wrestling.' *Man.* 9, 30.
- ऊँ,—कोपऊँ कटु नहिँ भाखथि कबऊँ, 'even at any time he spake not  
harshly in anger.' *Man.* 7, 35.
- ए,—जाएव ओघट घाटे, 'I shall go on an unfrequented river  
bank,' *Vid.* 5, 3.

This form of locative is very common in all Bihári dialects  
in phrases such as घरे घरे, 'in every house,' &c.

From the above we are justified in drawing up the follow-  
ing model paradigm of the organic declension of the  
word घोड़ा, the weak form of घोड़ा, 'a horse,' in the sin-  
gular number.

		Baiswári of Rámáyan.	North Maithilí.	Other Bihári dialects.
Nom.	...	घोड़,	घोड़,	घोड़,
Acc.	...	{ घोड़हि, घोड़हिँ,	{ घोड़हि, घोड़हिँ,	Wanting
Instr.	...	{ *घोड़ेँ, *घोड़ेँ, घोड़हि, घोड़हिँ,	{ घोड़ेँ, घोड़हि, घोड़हिँ, घोड़ऊँ,	घोड़ेँ, घोड़न,
Dat.	...	घोड़हि, घोड़हिँ,	घोड़ऊ,	Wanting
Abl.	...	घोड़हि, घोड़हिँ,	{ घोड़हि, घोड़ऊ, घोड़ऊँ,	Wanting
Gen.	...	{ घोड़हि, घोड़हिँ, (तेर, जामु),	{ घोड़ऊ, (तुअ, तेर, जमु)	Wanting
Loc.	...	{ *घोड़े, घोड़हि, घोड़हिँ, घोड़ऊ, घोड़ऊँ,	{ घोड़े घोड़हि, घोड़हिँ, घोड़ऊ, घोड़ऊँ,	घोड़े.

*Note as to Plural.* The above is the singular declension. In the Rámáyan the terminations in हिँ are used in a plural sense; thus, सगुनहिँ अगुनहिँ नहिँ कहु भेदा, 'there is no difference between things possessing qualities, and those without them,' *Rám. Bá. ch.* 123, 1: native paṇḍits, indeed, maintain that the termination हिँ is properly only used in the plural, and that when used in the singular, it is always in an honorific sense. This theory is generally borne out so far as my experience goes, and hence it will be convenient to assume that in the Rámáyan the terminations हि, ऐँ, ऐँ, and ए are singular, and the termination हिँ plural.

In Maithilí, the termination हिँ and ऊँ are used equally in a singular and in a plural sense. An example of the plural usage of हिँ will be found in the example given for the Locative.

The termination ए of the Instrumental is used only in the singular of nouns. Of Pronouns the case is different, *vide post*. Maithilí nouns always form their plural periphrastically by adding a noun of multitude, which is



itself declined in the singular, taking the singular terminations. The only words which take a new base in the plural (both for the nominative, and oblique cases) are the words *समनि*, *सबहि*, and *लोकनि*, (see Mth. Gram. § 25 for the two last) which form their instrumentals *समनिँ*, *सबहिँ*, and *लोकनिँ*. I am unable to give any examples from literature of the use of these three words.

For further remarks concerning these plural forms in *नि*, *vide post*.

*Derivation.*

At present I do not propose to consider the genitive terminations *सु*, *र*, and *अ*, as they are only used in connection with pronouns, and can be more conveniently discussed under that head.

The remaining terminations are

Rámáyan,	हि,	हिँ,	ऊ,	ऊँ,	ऐँ,	एँ,	ए,
Maithilí,	हि,	हिँ,	ऊ,	ऊँ,	—	एँ,	ए.

Before proceeding further, I must warn against another set of terminations in use in these dialects, which are merely particles of emphasis, *viz.*, *हि*, *हिँ*, *ही* or *हीँ*, *ऊ* or *ऊँ*, see Hoernle, G. G., § 550, and the Author's Mth. Gram., § 205. These are entirely different in origin, but are liable to lead to confusion.

The following table shows the declensional terminations in *Apa-bhraṃśa Prákṛit*. H. C. means the fourth book of Hemachandra's Grammar. K. I. means *Kramadísvara* quoted in Lassen, pp. 449 and ff. Mḍ. means *Márkaṇḍeya* quoted by Hoernle.

Table showing the declensional terminations of nouns in *Apabhraṃśa Prākṛit.*

SINGULAR.					
	Terminations common to all masculine and neuter nouns.	Terminations peculiar to ऋ bases, masc. and neut.	Terminations peculiar to ॠ bases.	Terminations peculiar to ॡ bases.	Feminine terminations for all nouns.
Nom.	—(H. C. 344), ॠ (Mḍ.), ॡ (only in neuter nouns in ऋ, (H. C. 354)).	ॠ (H. C. 331), ॠ (masc., H. C. 332).	None.	—(H. C. 344).	
Acc.	Same as Nom.	Same as Nom.	None.	—H. C. 344).	
Instr.	ॠ (Mḍ.)	ॠ (H. C. 333, 342, K. I. 24), ॠ (Lass. p. 461).	ॠ, ॠ, ॠ (H. C. 343), ॠ (K. I. 25)	ॠ (with shortening of penult. vowel, H. C. 349, K. I. 38), ॠ (without shortening Mḍ.)	
Abl.	ॠ (H. C. 336, 341, K. I. 29, 36, Mḍ.), ॠ (Mḍ. and K. I. 34).	ॠ (H. C. 336).	None.	ॠ (with shortening of penult. H. C. 350, K. I. 35), ॠ, ॠ (without shortening, Mḍ.).	
Gen.	—(H. C. 345), ॠ (K. I. 30, 34).	ॠ, ॠ, ॠ (H. C. 338), ॠ, ॠ (K. I. 30).	ॠ (K. I. 36).	ॠ (with shortening of penult. H. C. 350, K. I. 35).	
Loc.	ॠ (K. I. 26).	ॠ, ॠ (H. C. 334, K. I. 27).	ॠ (H. C. 341).	ॠ (with shortening of penult. H. C. 352).	
Voc.				ॠ (Mḍ.)	

Table showing the declensional terminations of nouns in *Apabrahṃṣā Prākṛit.*

	PLURAL.			REMARKS.
	Terminations peculiar to ॐ bases, masc. and neut.	Terminations peculiar to ॐ and ॐ bases.	Feminine terminations.	
Nom.	Terminations common to all masc. and neut. nouns. —(H. C. 344), ॐ (Md.), ॐ (only neut., H. C. 353, with optional lengthening of penult., Md.).	None.	ॐ, ॐ (H. C. 348) ॐ (Md.).	The sign — means that no termination is added to the base.
Acc.	Same as Nom.	None.	Same as Nom.	
Instr.	ॐ (H. C. 347).	ॐ ॐ (H. C. 335).	ॐ (H. C. 347)	The letter ॐ is only a sign showing the elision of the final vowel of the base, and does not form part of the termination.
Abl.	ॐ (H. C. 337, 341, Md.), ॐ (Md.).	ॐ (K. I. 28).	} ॐ (H. C. 351)	Long vowels may be shortened, and short vowels lengthened in any of the terminations (H. C. 330).
Gen.	—(H. C. 345), ॐ (Md., H. C. 339, 340, K. I. 31), ॐ (Md.).	None.		
Loc.	ॐ (H. C. 347), ॐ (H. C. 340), ॐ (Md.).	None.	ॐ (H. C. 347)	} With shortening of penult. vowel.
Voc.	ॐ (H. C. 346).	None.	ॐ (H. C. 346)	

The casual terminations of the Rámáyan have been discussed by Hoernle (G. G. pp. 195—212). The results arrived at are as follows: With the exception of रे, which may be considered as a strengthened form of रँ, all the above forms are found in Apabhraṃśa Prákrit. Taking each form separately we find;

A. With regard to ह्रि, that it is used in the following cases:—

Ap. Prákrit. (हे or ह्रि)	Rámáyan.	Maithilí.
—	Accusative.	Accusative.
—	Instrumental.	Instrumental.
—	Dative.	—
Ablative. (हे)	Ablative.	Ablative.
Genitive. (हे)	Genitive.	—
Locative. (ह्रि)	Locative.	Locative.

See Hoernle G. G., §§ 365 and 367. As regards the Prákrit form ह्रि, it is a weakened form of हे, which is properly a termination of the genitive singular, and has been extended to the abl. and loc. in Prákrit, and further extended to the acc. instr. and dat. in the Rámáyan. In Maithilí, it has altogether lost its genitival sense, and is not used in the dative, as in the Rámáyan. This termination ह्रि is derived from the Sanskrit termination स्य of the genitive. So that we get the series Skr. घोडस्य, Ap. Pr. घोडहे, Bihári घोडह्रि, 'of a horse.' It will be seen that the termination ह्रि in Bihári, being added to the weak form of the noun, presupposes a Skr. घोडस्य, and not घोडकस्य, which latter would become Ap. Pr. घोडकहे, and Bihári घोडाह्रि.

Other examples are Skr. मुनि, 'a sage,' gen. sing. मुने: (for मुनिस्य), Ap. Pr. मुनिहे, मुनिह्रि, Bihári, मुनिह्रि: and Skr. गुरु 'a teacher,' gen. sing. गुरो: (for गुरुस्य), Ap. Pr. गुरुहे, गुरुह्रि, Bihári, गुरुह्रि.

It is not necessary to give examples of Skr. strong forms in क for our present purposes,—for the termination ह्रि is, in Bihári, only added to the weak form of nouns.

B. ह्रिँ, is used in the Rámáyan only in a plural sense. In Maithilí it has (to a great extent in use) superseded ह्रि, and is used in the sense both of singular and plural in the following cases:—

Ap. Pr. (हे or ह्रिँ)	Rámáyan.	Maithilí.
—	Acc. plur.*	Acc. sing. and plur.
Instr. plur. (ह्रिँ)*	Instr. plur.*	Instr. sing. and plur.
—	Dat. plur.*	—
—	Abl. plur.*	—
Gen. plur. (हेँ)*	Gen. plur.*	—
Loc. sing. plur. (ह्रिँ)*	Loc. plur.*	Loc. sing. and plur.

\* Used also sometimes in singular, vide Hoernle, p. 208.



See Hoernle §§ 367 and 369. As regards the Prákṛit form, two derivations are plausible. One connects it with the Prákṛit abl. plur. suffix हित्वा, and the other with Skr. abl. dual termination म्यां (see Hoernle *l. c.*), which would regularly change in Pr. to हें or हिं.

The following examples will show the process. Skr. \*घोट, 'a horse : 'abl. dual, \*घोटाभ्यां; or Pr. abl. plur. (Ārsha) घोडेहित्वा; Ap. Pr. gen. plur. घोडहें: Bihári घोडहिं:

Skr. मुनि, 'a sage ; 'abl. dual, मुनिभ्यां; or Pr. abl. plur. (Ārsha) मुनिहित्वा; Ap. Pr. gen. plur. मुनिहें; Bihári, मुनिहिं.

Skr. गुरु, 'a teacher ; 'abl. dual, गुरुभ्यां; or Pr. abl. plur. (Ārsha) गुरुहित्वा; Ap. Pr. gen. plur. गुरुहें; Bihári गुरुहिं.

It is possible that these two derivations are not incompatible with each other. It will be observed, that when the Skr. has a long vowel before म्यां, Ārsha Prákṛit has (and only then) a long vowel before हित्वा. It is possible therefore that the first three syllables of गुरुहित्वा, are directly connected with गुरुभ्यां, and that the syllable वा is an additional pleonastic ablatival suffix.

C. ऊ. It is rarely used in the Rámáyan, and probably only in the locative. It is evidently a weakened form of the Ap. Prákṛit ह्यो. Both ऊ and ह्यो occur in all masculine and neuter nouns having अ bases in Ap. Pr. Bases in इ and उ take only ह्यो. Feminine bases use ऊ as the termination of the abl. and gen. plur. (H. C. IV, 351). In Maithilí ऊ is used in all genders and with all weak bases. The use of these two terminations is as follows :

Ap. Pr. (masc. and neut).		Maithilí.
अ bases.	इ and उ bases.	
Nom. (ह्यो)	ह्यो	_____
Acc. (ह्यो)	ह्यो	_____
_____	_____	_____
Abl. (ऊ, ह्यो)	ह्यो	Dat.
Gen. (ह्यो)	ह्यो	Abl.
_____	_____	Gen.
		Loc.

The use of these terminations has therefore been extended in Maithilí to the locative and dative. The dative, it need hardly be pointed out does not occur in Prákṛit. The origin of ह्यो is obscure. Lassen, (p. 462) identifies it with an assumed Skr. suffix ख; while Hoernle (§ 368) connects it with the Skr. abl. plur. suffix म्यत्, through म्यो.

D. ङ. It is rarely used in the Rámáyan, and probably only in the locative. In Ap. Prákrit, and Maithilí it is used as follows :

Ap. Prákrit.	Maithilí.
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	Instr. sing. and plur.
Abl. plur. (ङ)	_____
Gen. plur. (ङ)	Abl. sing. and plur.
Loc. plur. (ङ)	_____
	Loc. sing. and plur.

See Hoernle, §§ 367, 369.

This termination is probably a weakened form of the Prákrit abl. pl. suffix **सुंते**. The derivation of **सुंते** is obscure. From the analogy of **चिंते**, we might expect it to be a compound of **सु + ते** (Lassen, p. 310): **सुं** is the Prákrit termination of the locative plural, and it may be noted that whatever vowel precedes the termination **सुं** in Prákrit declension, the same vowel precedes **सुंते**.

Thus, Prákrit,—

Nom. Singular.	Loc. plural.	Abl. plural.
देवो	देवेसुं	देवेसुंते
गंगा	गंगासुं	गंगासुंते
अग्नी	अग्नीसुं	अग्नीसुंते
बुद्धी	बुद्धीसुं	बुद्धीसुंते

The termination **सुं** occurs in Ársha Prákrit, but not **सुंते**, which tends also to show that the latter is a later, and may be a compound form.

One example of this form will suffice. Skr. **मुनि** a sage; loc. plur. **मुनिषु**; Ársha Prákrit, **मुनिसुं**; Prákrit, **मुनीसुं**; Pr. abl. plur. **मुनीसुंते**; Ap. Pr. gen. plur. **मुनिङ्गं**; Bihári instr. plur. **मुनिङ्गं**.

Note in the above that it is only in classical Prákrit that the final vowel of **मुनि** is lengthened. We have Ársha, **मुनिसुं**, and Ap. **मुनिङ्गं**, so that we are justified in assuming an intermediate form **मुनिसुंते**.

It is easier to derive **मुनिङ्गं** from **मुनिसुंते** rather than from **मुनिसुं** directly; as it is more natural to derive the genitive from the ablative than from the locative. As regards the formation of an ablative by the

addition of an ablative sign to a locative, this is of common occurrence in Gaudian languages. It is quite usual to hear phrases such as घोड़े पर से गिर पड़ा, which is, literally, 'he fell from on the horse,' and which means in English, 'he fell from,' or, 'off the horse.'

E. एँ, ऐँ,—the latter of these I consider to be simply a lengthened form of the former: and with this remark it will be sufficient to dismiss it. With regard to ए, the case is different, and will require more elaborate treatment.

एँ is used in the following cases :

Ap. Pr.	Rámáyan.	Maithilí.
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
Instr. (एँ)	Instr.	Instr.
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____

It will be seen that this case is used throughout all dialects as an instrumental termination,—and so also in Panjábí (seldom), *e. g.*, in the word भावेँ (*Sk.* भावेन) 'indeed,' 'truly;' hence 'although;' and in Maráṭhí, *e. g.*, घरेँ, 'by a house.' In western Bhojpurí it takes the form अन; thus, डरन, 'by fear,' भूखन, 'by hunger.'

In Ap. Pr., according to Md., the termination is added directly to the base of the noun, whatever it is; so that we have वणएँ, 'by a forest,' from वण, वालाएँ 'by a girl,' from वाला, अगिरेँ 'by fire,' from अगि (nom. अगी), वाउरेँ 'by wind,' from वाउ, (nom. वाऊ). (Examples taken from Md. *apud* Hoernle, § 367.) It will be observed that when the nom. sing. ends in long आ, it is unchanged, but when in long ई, or long ऊ, the final vowel is shortened before एँ. H. C. and K. I. do not give the termination to feminine nouns, and give वणेँ instead of वणएँ. In other respects they agree with Md. Md.'s वणएँ is probably for वणकेँ so that the three grammarians are at one, except with reference to feminine nouns.

Maithilí goes a step farther. It (Gram. § 19) substitutes the एँ for the final vowel in all nouns whose direct forms end in अ or आ, so that we have फलेँ, 'by fruit,' from फल, कथेँ, 'by a story' from कथा, or to use the same examples as are given for Prákrit, it has वनेँ for Pr. वणएँ, and वालेँ for Pr. वालाएँ.

With regard to nouns ending in other vowels, it follows the Prákrit rule. The एँ is simply added, and the final vowel, if long is shortened,—



so that we have बेटिँ 'by a daughter,' from बेटी. With regard to the Pr. examples, the nominatives both end in short vowels in Maithilí; अगि, 'fire,' makes अगिँ, and बाउ 'wind,' makes बाउँ, or बाँ.\*

Finally the forms एँ, जैँ, तेँ in Maithilí referred to above must be again noted here, as important, and pointing clearly to the derivation. The only remaining cognate form is the word कथौँ, used colloquially as the instrumental of the oblique form, कथी, of the neuter interrogative pronoun की, 'what,' (see Mth. Chr. Voc. s. v. की).

As to the derivation of these forms, they may possibly come from the Skr. instrumental in न, which exists in अ bases in the form एन (शिवेन). The forms which most plainly show their origin are the pronominal ones, एँ, जैँ, and तेँ. It must be noted that these are not formed from the oblique bases of their respective pronouns, which are हिन (or ऋहि), जनि (or जाहि), and तनि (or ताहि) respectively (Mth. Gram. §§ 71, 76, 78), but stand completely apart from the declension of these pronouns as isolated forms. The nominatives of these pronouns are ई, जे, and से, so that in one of these cases at least it has not been formed by nasalizing that case. It is hence most rational to derive them through missing Prákrit forms from Sanskrit एन (Vaidik), 'by this,' येन, 'by which,' and तेन, 'by that.' It must be noted also that while the proximate demonstrative in Maithilí ई, 'this,' has an instrumental form एँ, the remote demonstrative औ, 'that,' has no such corresponding form, (see Mth. Gr. § 70, addenda). Similarly the Skr. proximate demonstrative pronominal base अ, has no remote demonstrative form. Classical Skr. has अनेन instead of the simpler Vaidik instrumental form एन, 'by this'; for an example of the latter, see R. V. I, 173, 9, एन, which the Vedártha Yatna translates अनेन.

As regards the form कथौँ, the termination may be referred to the Skr. instrumental termination इना, (अग्निना), Pr. इणा (अग्निणा), but the derivation of the stem is involved in much obscurity.

Having thus shown that these pronominal forms एँ, जैँ, and तेँ are most probably connected with the Skr. instrumental, it remains to consider the nominal forms. With regard to अ bases, the same reasoning applies, and घोडेँ bears exactly the same relation to घोटेन, that एँ does to एन. With regard to feminine bases ending in आ, the case is different. In it the Skr. instr. ends in अया, from which I would derive the Prákrit termination आर. The lengthening of the penult. in Pr. is probably due to the force of analogy, all the other cases in Sanskrit, except the vocative having a long penultimate. The termination एँ cannot of course be attributed to this

\* With regard to the shortening of the Antepenultimate, see Mth. Gr. § 5, addenda. I have written the words as they are pronounced, and not as they are usually written.



form, and I refer it to the well known tendency of Prákṛit to reduce all nouns to one common declension, which is carried further by Ap. Pr. and the modern Vernaculars, than we find in the classical Prákṛit of Vararuchi.

By a similar process I would account for the instrumental forms of bases with other vocalic endings.

E. ए. This is the most universally distributed of all the case terminations. It occurs in all the Bihári dialects, and in the Rámáyan. It appears in all the Prákṛit dialects from the classical of Vararuchi to the Apabhramśa; and, to take examples of cognate modern languages it is found in Bangálí, and in all the local dialects of Hindí. It also occurs in Sanskrit as the locative of nouns whose bases end in अ. In the modern languages, too, it is only used with nouns ending in a final (silent) अ. Thus we have घाटे 'on a landing place,' from घाट, गांमे 'in a village, from गाम, but no corresponding forms for words like कथा, or पानि. Similarly also in Bangálí बालक, 'a boy,' makes बालके, but the locative of घोड़ी 'a mare,' is quite a different form, घोड़ीते. It is the same in classical Prákṛit, Ārsha, and Páli; in all these ए is only used as the termination of the locative of अ bases. We thus get the following table :

Sanskrit.	Páli.	Ārsha.	Prákṛit.	Bihári.	Bangálí.
अ base देवे but आ base गंगायां	देवे गंगाय	देवे गंगाए	देवे गंगाए	देवे गंगा स	देवे गंगाय
इ base अग्रौ	अग्निम्हि	अग्निम्हि	अग्निम्हि	आगि मँ	अग्निते
उ base गुरौ	गुरुम्हि	गुरुम्हि	गुरुम्हि	गुरु मँ	गुरुते.

From the above it is evident that the locative termination ए is used throughout all these languages only with bases in अ. Feminine bases in आ are no exception to this rule, for the termination ए in Ārsha and Prákṛit is of entirely different origin. In Apabhramśa Prákṛit there are two forms of the locative one in ए (तले), and one a weakened form in इ (तलि), both of which are used only with bases in अ. The latter it appears to me not unreasonable to consider to be a weakened form of the former.

It therefore appears possible that this Bihári locative in ए is the Skr. and classical Prákṛit loc. suffix ए, which has been preserved unchanged. The fact that it has remained unchanged in the modern languages need not surprise us: for it has admittedly remained unchanged in the classical Prákṛits, while all the other case suffixes have changed in them. If therefore the locative has retained vitality so far, it need not astonish us that it has retained it to the last.

*Note on the above.* It will be seen that in these derivations of एँ and ए, I have given an etymology different from that put forward by so high an authority as Dr. Hoernle in his Gaudian Grammar, §§ 367 and following. Dr. Hoernle considers एँ as a contraction of अहिँ, and ए as a contraction of अहिँ respectively, terminations which have already been discussed and disposed of. This derivation is also plausible, but I venture to think that an equal amount of plausibility attaches to the derivation given above, on the following grounds.

Lassen (p. 461) connects the termination एँ with Skr. term. एन, but Dr. Hoernle considers that this is untenable because Skr. एन cannot be added to feminine bases in आ. This point has been already discussed by me, and I need not repeat what I have said here,—but, admitting for the sake of argument that Lassen is wrong, Dr. Hoernle's theory is also open to objection. Dr. Hoernle takes the termination अहिँ, and supposes an elision of ह, which gives अइँ, which is contracted to एँ; hence he gets the forms in Apabhraṃśa Prákṛit, वणएँ, वालाएँ, अगिँ, and वाउएँ, which he derives from supposititious forms \*वणअहिँ, \*वालाअहिँ, \*अगिअहिँ, and \*वाउअहिँ which he considers old genitives. It thus appears that the letter अ in the termination is absolutely necessary for the theory; only अहिँ can be contracted to एँ; if the termination ever takes the form इहिँ, it must be contracted to ईँ, and if it takes the form उहिँ, it can only become उइँ. It must be remembered that we are only dealing with weak bases, for in the modern languages, एँ is only added to weak bases, and never to strong ones;\* and it remains to be seen what form अहिँ takes with weak bases. Really, this termination is हिँ and not अहिँ, and the vowel अ is only the termination of the base,

\* This may be denied; but the fact remains that some weak forms do undoubtedly take the termination एँ, e. g. बात 'a word,' instrumental बातेँ; so also ऐँ, जेँ, and तेँ, which are undoubtedly formed from a weak bases, and this is quite sufficient for my argument. If I can prove that a single weak form takes एँ in the instrumental, it does away with the argument that इएँ or उएँ can in all cases be derived from इअहिँ, उअहिँ. It may be noted here that in the Mágadhí dialect of Bihári only masculine weak forms ending in a silent consonant take एँ, and ए; thus, from बल 'force', instr. बलेँ; but never पनिएँ, or बातेँ.

so that the weak forms of the old genitive plural, above quoted, would be वण्चिं and not वणञ्चिं, वालाचिं and not वालाञ्चिं, अग्निचिं and not अग्निञ्चिं, वाञ्चिं and not वाञ्चञ्चिं. Now, it is possible to derive वनेँ from वण्चिं, but impossible to derive आगिँ from अग्निचिं. I know that it can be assumed that आगिँ is derived from the strong form अग्निञ्चिं, but it is equally easy to derive it from the instrumental (Prákrit) अग्निणा (or देवेँ from देवेण), and this last derivation has the following advantages :

(1) It accounts for the termination ँ in nouns which (like वान) are never used in modern languages in their strong, but always in their weak forms.

(2) It accounts for the fact that ँ is always (with one or two isolated exceptions) used in a singular sense, while the termination चिं is distinctly a plural one.

(3) It accounts for the western Bhojpúri forms in अन्, such as डरन्, भूखन्.

(4) It is simpler to derive the instrumental ँ from a Skr. instrumental, and the locative ए from a Skr. locative, than to take two terminations, for one case (the genitive), one singular, and the other plural, and to adopt one, for no very valid reason, as a locative singular, and the other as an instrumental singular.

Another argument of Dr. Hoernle's given in the foot note to p. 208 is as follows; 'this explains why the Maráthí instr. in ँ is seldom used except with the prepositions करुन् or कडून्; for it is really a genitive or oblique form, and as such naturally takes a postposition. If it were, as commonly supposed, identical with the old Skr. instr. in एन्, the addition of the postposition would be very superfluous and anomalous.' The addition of the postposition may be superfluous, but it is not, I think anomalous. In Maithilí the preposition विना 'without' governs the instrumental, both in the form in ँ, and in its inorganic or periphrastic form.

Examples are,

- (1.) Organic instrumental.

Famine song, 10.

विना जलेँ जग किङ्कु नहिँ उपजल, 'without water nothing sprouted in the world.'

(2.) Periphrastic instrumental.

Sal. 3.

विना पुरुष सैँ कोना दिवस गमाएव, 'without a husband how can I pass my days?'

These examples taken together show that there is no idea of a genitive sense, but that there is a pure idea of an instrumental sense in जलेँ in the first example.

With regard to the locative termination ए, the arguments respecting

it are exactly the same, *mutatis mutandis*, as those regarding ँ, and I do not repeat them.

*β. Inorganic Declension of nouns.*

By Inorganic declension I mean that kind of periphrastic declension which is formed by postpositions added to a base whether inflected or not. In Bihári the base undergoes regular inflection or preparation for the reception of postpositions. This occurs both in the singular and plural, each of which has a direct (or nominative) and an oblique form.

It will be convenient to deal with the question of number first. The following are the plural forms.



	Baiswári.	Banaras Bhojpuri.	Bhojpuri.	Maithil Bhojpuri.	North Maithil.	South Maithil.	Purniyá Maithil.	Bhágál-pur Maithil.	Maithil Magadhi.	Magadhi.
(1) Weak forms, घोर, 'a horse,' <i>Direct Plural.</i>	घोर	घोर	घोर	घोर	घोर	घोर	घोड़	घोड़	घोड़	घोड़
} <i>Oblique.</i>	घोरन्हि	घोरन	घोरन	घोरन	<i>deest.</i>	<i>deest.</i>			घोड़वनि	घोड़न
	घोरन्ह	घोरन	घोरन	घोरन	(लोकनि)	<i>deest.</i>		<i>deest.</i>		
(2) Strong forms in आ, घोरI, 'a horse,' <i>Direct Plural.</i>	घोर*	घोरा	घोरा	घोरा	घोरा	घोरा	घोड़ा	घोड़ा	घोड़ा	घोड़ा
<i>Oblique.</i>	<i>deest.</i>	<i>deest.</i>	<i>deest.</i>	<i>deest.</i>	<i>deest.</i>	<i>deest.</i>	<i>deest.</i>	<i>deest.</i>	<i>deest.</i>	<i>deest.</i>

In all these, the oblique forms of the weak form of the noun is always used.

Similarly all other nouns. Those ending in long vowels, always shorten them before the oblique terminations of the plural. In short, the plural terminations in ङि &c. can only be added to the weak form of a noun, and even when the weak form is not used in the singular it can always be used in the plural before these terminations.

In certain dialects peculiar affixes are used, which can be added to all nouns, to form a plural. They are direct and oblique,

स०	सौ, सिबी	सन्ही,
	आर	आरहिनि

In addition to the above, various forms of the words सब, or सम, 'all,' and लोग 'people,' can be used to form a periphrastic plural.

\* Rám. A. Ch. 138, मगु चलहिं न घोर, a form which Kellogg seems to have overlooked (Gram. p. 78).

Reference to the above will show that the oblique form of the plural has four terminations, *viz.*, न्ह, न, न्हि, नि: and these terminations are only added to the weak base of a noun. This is even the case when the noun is not used in the singular or in the nominative plural in the weak form. *E. g.*, (Banáras-Bhojpúri) nom. sing. नाऊ (strong form), 'a barber'; nom. plur. नाऊ (strong form); and obl. plur. नाउन (weak form). It is commonly said that strong-forms shorten their termination before न in the oblique plural, but this is hardly the correct way of looking at the matter. The base घोड़न cannot be said to be formed from the base घोड़ा, for this would presuppose (as will be seen further on) a Skr. form घोटकानां, which would become in Prákṛit घोडअणं (see Hoernle, p. 211) (whence perhaps O. H. महिलानं, द्रयान, cf. Hoernle, p. 195), \*घोडअण्हं, \*घोडअण्ह, which would become in Bihári घोड़वन or घोड़ान, and not घोड़न.

The only exception to this is the Maithil-Mágadhí sub-dialect, which forms the oblique plural on the base of the long form, which may be referred to the Prákṛit long form घोडअण्हं above referred to.

These plural oblique forms are not used in Maithilí in the case of nouns, except in a few isolated words like सभनि, 'all,' and लोकनि 'people.' They are common, however, in Maithilí pronouns where the plural form has acquired a singular honorific sense,—thus, तनि 'him,' जनि, 'whom.'

Wherever these forms are used in the oblique plural, they can also be used in the sense of a direct plural, in most of the dialects. The oldest dialect (that of the Rámáyan) confines these forms principally to the oblique case, but not universally, as in the phrase जिन्ह मोहि मारा ते मैँ मारे 'I have beaten those who have beaten me.\*' Banáras Bhojpúri follows the Rámáyan very closely in this particular, but the other dialects use the oblique form indifferently in the direct and oblique cases plural.

To sum up the results of the above, we find that in Bihári the nominative plural can always† be the same as the nominative singular; and certain dialects also form an oblique plural in न्ह, न, न्हि, or नि, which is also in certain of these adopted by the nominative.

With regard to the periphrastic plural, the usual affixes are सभ 'all,' and लोग 'people.' Bhojpúri, however, and the sub-dialects of Purniyá, and Bhagalpúr add the words

Bhojpúri सव  
Purniyá-Maithilí सी, सिबी  
Bhagalpúr-Maithilí सन्ही

\* Kellogg (p. 224) adduces this verse as an example of the use of the case of the agent before a transitive verb. As, however, मैँ which occurs in the same sentence also before a transitive verb is undoubtedly in the nominative (the oblique form being मोहि) it is more convenient to consider जिन्ह as an example of the oblique plural used in a nominative sense.

† The Rámáyan घोरे is very rare, and is probably a form borrowed from Hindí.

The first I believe to be a deroded form of सब, सभ, 'all,' through an intermediate form सह; सन्ही then appears naturally as its oblique plural, with a lengthening of the final vowel.

Similarly, I would connect सिबि, with the Maithil word सबहि 'all.' through an intermediate form सिबहि or सिबिह, and then सी easily appears as a contracted form of the same word.

In the Bihár districts bordering on Bangál a form आर or आरहिन is used to form a plural. A reference to the neighbouring Bangálí gives the word आर, meaning 'and', 'other.' This is derived from the Skr. अपर meaning 'other.' Its use in Purniyá and Bhagalpúr is best seen in the pronouns, where it is used with the oblique form of the genitive singular, thus हमरा आर 'others of me', 'we.' So also घोड़ा आर, घोड़ा आरहिन, 'horses.' आरहिन, I consider a plural of आर, through transposition from आरहि.

*Affinities and derivation.*

The derivation of the plural termination न्ह, न, न्हि, नि, is from the Skr. gen. plural in आनां, through Prákrit आणं, \*अणं, अणहं (*cf.* पंचणहं, 'of five'), (*cf.* Hoernle, pp. 202 and 211). The only difficulty in this derivation is the termination इ in न्हि and नि. This I believe to be inorganic, and is due either to the memory of the Skr. neuter nom. plur. in नि which led to confusion, or (more probably) to false analogy with the very common termination of the third person plural of the Bihári verb in न्हि, which has quite a different origin, *viz.*, from the Skr. न्ति. *E. g.*, the 3rd plural past of the verb देख 'see,' is देखलन्हि, which is frequently written देखलन्ह देखलनि, or देखलन. Seeing therefore these three plural verbal terminations, false analogy would inevitably suggest the addition of the form घोरन्हि to the regular plural substantival forms घोरन्ह and घोरन. It may be noted here that there is also a Skr. nom. neut. plur. in न्ति (भगवन्ति), which may have lent its aid to the false analogy.

*On the preparation of the base.*

It is commonly said that in Bihári the oblique form of nouns is the same as the direct. This, however, is not the fact, and I hope to be able to shew that a distinct oblique form of nouns and of possessive pronouns exists throughout all the dialects.

It will be convenient to consider first the Bhojpúri affixes of the genitive. Hoernle (p. 220) gives the genitival affixes (amongst others) as कै, oblique के. The latter termination in use in Banáras, is not, however, pure Bhojpúri. It appears to me to be borrowed from Hindí and not to be a pure Bihári form. The oblique form के is almost universal over the Hindí area, and is not used in any Bihári dialect with which I am acquainted.

In the pure Bhojpúri of western Bihár the forms are—



*Direct*, कै or के (sometimes written क), and *oblique*, का.

Examples are the following.

*Direct*, के—ई राजा के मंदिर बाटे, 'this is the king's house.'

हम कन्स के लौंड़ी हईँ, 'I am the maid-servant of king Kans.'

*Direct*, क—हर रंगक बात सुनल गइल, 'matters of every kind were heard.'

*Indirect*, का—कपटी का मारला के कुदो देख नाहीं, 'there is no sin in (*lit.* of) the slaying of a deceiver.'

पंडितन का घरे ढेर पोथी बाटे, 'there are many books in the paṇḍits' house.'

In Maithilí, also, there is a genitive in क (Mth. Gr. § 22). In the case of nouns this has lost all inflexion, but in pronouns we see the inflexions still remaining. *E. g.*, the Relative pronoun जे, obl. form plur. (used as an honorific singular) जनि (Mth. Gr. § 76) : hence, adding the sign of the genitive we get जनिक. This has an oblique form जनिका, used as a base of the other cases, but that it is really an oblique genitive is evident from the following example (*Vid.* 39, 2).

जनिका जन्म होइत गेलहुँ, 'at whose birth I went,' in which जन्म is in the locative case, the postposition being poetically omitted.

Again the gen. honor. of ओ (Mth. Gr.) is जनक (जनिक), and its oblique form is जनका, as in (*Sal.* 1),

जनका कारन, 'for the sake of him', and (*Sal.* 21)

जनका पहरा मेँ, 'in his watch.'

It must be noted, however, that the oblique form का is more rare in Maithilí than in Bhojpúrí, for it has disappeared altogether in nouns. There is in fact, a distinct tendency in *theth* Maithilí to use, even in the case of pronouns, direct forms instead of oblique ones. *E. g.*, in *Sal.* 1 we have जनक कारन beside the more correct जनका कारन, and so we have (*Sal.* 10) जनक डाक सँ instead of the more correct जनका डाक सँ, 'from his cry.' The Song of Salhes is, it must be remembered, in very *theth* language; that is to say, in the language of the lowest people, and is in one or two places absolutely incorrect.

A similar pronominal oblique genitive form in का may be noted in all the other Bihári dialects, but, for want of a literature, it is difficult to give authoritative examples.

To sum up this part of the explication; 1—Bihári has a genitive postposition कै or क, which has an oblique form का. This oblique form has in the eastern and southern dialects fallen into disuse in the case of substantives, but still survives everywhere in the pronouns.

The question of genitive postpositions naturally leads to possessive pronouns. The following are the possessive pronouns in Maithilí. As they will be treated of at length under their proper heading it is not necessary to give them for other dialects.



*Pronoun.*

मेँ, 'I,'
हम, 'I,'
तौँ, 'thou,'
तौँह, 'thou,'
अपने, 'self' ( <i>Sal.</i> 18)
ई, 'this,'
ओ, 'that,'
जे, 'who,'
से, 'that,'
के, 'who?'

*Possessive.*

मेर, 'my.'
हमर, हमार, 'my.'
तेर, 'thy.'
तोहर, तोहार, 'thy.'
अपन, अप्पन, 'own.'
एकर, 'of this.'
ओकर, 'of that.'
जकर, 'whose.'
तकर, 'of that.'
ककर, 'whose?'

The last five are not properly possessive pronouns, but are regular genitives formed by adding the genitive postposition कर, to the pronominal bases ए, ओ, ज, त, and क respectively. As, however, in their adoption of an oblique base they run exactly on all fours with the true possessive pronouns, it is convenient at present to consider them also as such.

All these possessives are used as genitives of the various corresponding pronouns, and are usually considered as such. Thus मेर is said to be the genitive of मेँ, हमर of हम, अप्पन of अपने, and so on.

All these possessive pronouns have an oblique form, formed by shortening the antepenultimate or penultimate, and lengthening the final vowel to आ. Thus,

*Possessive.*

मेर,
हमर, हमार,
तेर,
तोहर, तोहार,
अप्पन, अपन,
एकर,
ओकर,
जकर,
तकर,
ककर,

*Oblique.*

मेरा.
हमरा.
तेरा.
तोहरा.
अपना.
एकरा.
ओकरा.
जकरा.
तकरा.
ककरा.

This oblique form is used for two purposes.

A, as a true oblique genitive.

B, as a declensional oblique base.

A, as a true oblique genitive.

*Examples.* हमरा घर मेँ, 'in my house.' (*Sal.* 19).

अपना सिरकी मेँ, 'in one's own hovel.' (*Sal.* 20).

अपना चढेक घोड़ी, 'the mare of his own riding.' (*Sal.* 21).

Occasionally the direct form is used instead of the oblique, as (*Sal.* 17).

अपन इजतिक अकरार, 'a bond of my own chastity' (*ib.*).

It is difficult to give examples out of Vidyapati, as he frequently lengthens a final vowel for the sake of metre, which is misleading.

*B, as a declensional oblique base.*

The correlative pronouns have each two proper declensional bases,—1, a singular one, and 2, a plural one. In Maithilí the singular has in all cases acquired a non-honorific sense, and, in the case of ई, 'this,' ओ, 'that,' custom has further confined it to referring to inanimate objects only. (Mth. Gr. §§ 70, 72, 79, 85, and 86). The plural base has in all cases assumed a singular honorific sense. In addition to these bases (which appear under similar circumstances in all Bihári dialects, *vide post*), the oblique form of the genitive is frequently used in the sense of another oblique declensional base. This is quite regular, for as will be seen later on, the postpositions attached to this base are all nouns either in the instrumental or locative case. Thus जकरा में, means 'in the middle of which,' (Mg. Pr. जग्ग केरअग्ग मजिह, *Scr.* यस्य हतकस्य मध्ये) in which the Pr. केरअग्ग in the genitive case is (as will be seen hereafter) the direct origin of the oblique form करा. The following table shows the three oblique declensional forms of each of the pronouns in Maithilí.

Nom.	Proper oblique Singular.	Proper oblique Plural.	Periphrastic oblique base made from oblique Genitive.
मेँ, 'I.'	मोहि.	<i>Wanting.</i>	मोरा.
हम, 'I.'	<i>Wanting.</i>	<i>Wanting, but Bhojpúri</i> हमनी.	हमरा.
तेँ, 'thou.'	तोहि.	<i>Wanting.</i>	तोरा.
तेँह, 'thou.'	<i>Wanting.</i>	<i>Wanting, but Bhojpúri</i> तोहनी.	तोहरा.
अपने, 'self.'	<i>Wanting.</i>	<i>Wanting, but Bhojpúri</i> अपनन.	अपना.
ई, 'this.'	इहि.	हिन (हिनि).	इकरा, हिनका.
ओ, 'that.'	ओहि.	ऊन (ऊनि).	ओकरा, ऊनका.
जे, 'who.'	जाहि.	जनि.	जकरा, जनिका.
से, 'that.'	ताहि ( <i>old तेहि</i> , <i>Vid.</i> 28, 4).	तनि.	तकरा, तनिका.
के, 'who.'	*काहि (Mth. Gr. § 79).	कनि.	ककरा, कनिका.

From the above it will be seen that both the oblique genitive singular and the oblique genitive plural form new periphrastic declensional bases, one singular, and the other plural.

As far as use goes, it may be noted that the proper oblique forms singular and plural of the correlative pronouns are generally used as adjectives, and the periphrastic ones are always used as substantives.

The following examples show the use of these forms.

A. *Proper oblique singular.*

*Vid.* 34, 2, मंद बचन तोहि के न कहल अछि, 'hath any one used reproachful words to thee?'

*Sal.* 1, ताहि दिन लिखि देल(क), 'he wrote down that day.'

B. *Proper oblique plural.*

*Bhojpúri fables*, 6, हमनी के लड़ावत फिरले, 'he goes about causing us to fight.'

*Sal.* 1, ऊनि खासीक कारन, 'for the sake of that lord.'

C. *Periphrastic oblique singular.*

*Vid.* 55, 4, फेरि माँगव पड़ तारा, 'in return I will ask for thee, my lord.'

*Sal.* 12, तकरा पार मति करह, 'do not pass him over.'

D. *Periphrastic oblique plural, or honorific.*

*Mth. chr. p.* 2, हमरा बेटा जेहन अछि, से खूब जनैखी, 'you know well what sort of son there is to me (*mihi filius qualis est*)', where हमरा is idiomatically used for the dative हमरा केँ, and must not be confounded with the genitive हमर.

*Sal.* 13, तौ लागी ऊनका फुरसति नहिँ, 'till then there will not be leave to depart to him (*illi*).'

*Sal.* 19, हमरा सौँ की लैबै अजह इनाम, 'How wilt thou get a present from me.'

Under the last head, two examples have been given of a dative of possession. These forms which at first sight look like oblique forms of the genitive used in a direct sense, are thus explained by competent natives. This explanation is most reasonable, for there can be no doubt about हमरा बेटा being very different in meaning from हमर बेटा, and about ऊनका फुरसति being different in meaning from ऊनक फुरसति.

In conclusion I append here, a list of all the pronominal genitival forms which I have collected from the prose of the Maithil Chrestomathy. I have submitted them all to Bábú S'ri Náráyaṅ Singh of Darbhanga, a gentleman who has an intimate acquaintance with the Maithilí language, united to an intelligent knowledge of English. He has noted for me any optional form, when such case be used.

A. *direct genitives governed by a nominative.*

*Sal.* 7, तकर तिरिआ केहन सुरखी, 'how beautiful the woman of that.'



*Sal.* 15, हमर सक नहिँ थीकि, 'I have not the power.'

*Sal.* 16, केकर बेटा, 'whose son?'

*Sal.* 20, हमर रोज हरज होइत, 'my profession will be damaged.'

*B. direct genitives governed by an accusative in the form of the nominative.*

*Sal.* 5, ऊनक कानब सुनि, 'hearing whose weeping.'

*Sal.* 7, जकर बेदुली लाएल(ह), 'whose *bedulí* you have brought.'

*Sal.* 8, लिअ अपन बेदुली, 'take your *bedulí*.'

*Sal.* 16, तकर अकरार लिखि, 'having written a bond of that.'

*Sal.* 18, घर अय्यन जाह, 'go to your house.'

*Sal.* 20, लावै गेल अय्यन भाई, 'he went to fetch his brother.'

*Sal.* 20, अय्यन मुदै बान्हू, 'bind your enemy.'

*C. direct genitives governed by a noun in an oblique case,—rare, but permissible.*

*Sal.* 1, ऊनक कारन, 'for the sake of him.'

*Sal.* 10, ऊनक डाक सँ, 'from his call.'

*Sal.* 17, अपन इजतिक, 'of (my) own chastity.'

According to Bábú S'rí Nárayan Singh, the direct form is admissible, wherever the oblique form is usually employed, but not *vice versá*. Thus the following pairs are equally correct.

<i>admissible.</i>	<i>usual.</i>
(1) ऊनक कारन	— ऊनका कारन
(2) ऊनक डाक सँ	— ऊनका डाक सँ
(3) ऊनक पहरा मेँ	— ऊनका पहरा मेँ
(4) अय्यन इजतिक	— अपना इजतिक
(5) अय्यन चढेक घोड़ा	— अपना चढेक घोड़ा

Where, however, the governing noun is in the nominative or in the accusative in the form of the nominative, the oblique form can never be used. The following therefore are wrong.

ऊनका कानब सुनि, तकरा अकरार लिखि, अपना मुदै बान्हू, हमरा रोज हरज होइत, ककरा बेटा इथि ।

The phrase हमरा सक नहिँ is, however, correct, but then हमरा is the dative of possession, 'to me there is no power.'

*D. Proper oblique genitives governed by nouns in oblique cases.*  
*Governed by,*

*Instr. Sal.* 1, 2, 3, ऊनका कारन, 'for the sake of him' (*cf.* C.)

*Gen. Sal.* 21, अपना चढेक घोड़ा, 'the horse of his own riding,' 'his own riding horse.'



- Loc.* *Sal.* 5, जुमलीह अपना फुलवारी, 'she arrived at her own garden.'  
*ib.* आइलि उनका फुलवाड़ी, (her companions) came to her garden.  
*Sal.* 6, आनि अपना फुलवाड़ी, 'having brought him to your garden.'  
*Sal.* 9, ऐलीह अपना फुलवाड़ी, 'she came to her garden.'  
*Sal.* 11, उनका सिरमा मेँ, 'at her bed-head.'  
*Sal.* 16, हमरा पास, 'near me.'  
*Sal.* 19, हमरा घर मेँ, 'in my house.'  
*Sal.* 19, तोहरा घर मेँ, 'in thy house.'  
*Sal.* 19, अपना सिरकी मेँ, 'in my own hovel.'  
*Sal.* 20, हमरा लग, 'near me.'  
*Sal.* 10, 21, उनका पहरा मेँ, 'in his beat.'

*E. Oblique genitives used as an oblique declensional base.*

- Sal.* 5, ककरा दिआ, 'having given whom?' 'through whom.'  
*Sal.* 6, तोहरा आड़ि, 'having abandoned thee,' 'except thee,'  
*Sal.* 11, तकरा तजवीज करै, '(he began to) consider this,' (तजवीज करब is a compound verb.)  
*Sal.* 12, तकरा पार मति करह, 'do not pass him over.'  
*Sal.* 13, उनका कहबैन्हि, 'I would tell him.'  
*Sal.* 13, तकरा दिआ, 'through him.'  
*Sal.* 14, हमरा बाँधि देल अछि, 'you have tied me up.'  
*Sal.* 17, हमरा बन्ध खोलौलिन्हि, 'you got me released.'  
*Sal.* 19, तोहरा मन पूराप्रब, 'I will satisfy thee.'  
*Nág. songs*, 4, हमरा रटना रटौलिन्हि, 'he caused me to journey a journey.'  
*Instr.* *Sal.* 16, तोहरा सौँ विवाह करी, 'I may marry thee.'  
*Sal.* 20, तकरा सभ सौँ लड़ने, 'in fighting with all them.'  
*Dat.* *Mth. Chr.* p. 1, उनिका माता नहिँ, 'he has no mother.'  
*ib.* p. 2, हमरा बेटा जेहन अथि 'what sort of son I have,' see above.  
*Sal.* 5, उनका माप्र बाप गारी देलक 'have her father and mother given her abuse?'  
*Sal.* 13, उनका फुरसति नहिँ '(there will) not (be) leave to him to depart.'  
*Sal.* 15, तोहरा फुरसति देवऊ, 'I will give you leave to depart.'  
*Sal.* 15, तकरा जाथ कहब, 'go to her and say.'  
*Sal.* 19, से इनाम दह हमरा, 'give that to me as a reward.'  
*Sal.* 19, तेरा इनाम दैत बी, 'I give you a reward.'  
*Rumine song*, 5, ककरा करब बखान, 'to whom shall I relate?'
- Abl.*  
*Sal.* 19, हमरा सौँ की लेबै, 'what will you take from me.'  
*Nág. Songs*, 4, हमरा सौँ भिखिआ मँगौलिन्हि, 'he asked alms from me.'

*Loc. Sal.* 14, तोहरा अकैत, in your presence.'

*Sal.* 20, ता मेँ, in the meantime.

Occasionally the oblique form ends in आँ; *e. g.* बन्धिकाँ पाकाँ धरुनी, 'after him (went) the earth,' *Man.* 1, 12.

Having exhausted the question of the oblique form of the genitives of pronouns, it now remains to consider those of substantives.

First we shall take the following words, which, ending in न, ल, ड, and र, offer examples of nouns with oblique forms exactly like those of pronominal genitives. There are doubtless many others, but these are those of which I am at present able to give proof by means of examples.

They are—

आँगन, 'a courtyard,'	<i>oblique</i>	आँगना.
नैन, 'an eye,'	„	नैना.
पहिल, 'first,'	„	पहिला.
बड़, 'great,'	„	बड़ा.
दोसर, 'second,'	„	दोसरा.
तेसर, 'third,'	„	तेसरा.
पहर, पहर, 'a watch,'	„	पहरा.
आँचर, आचर, 'a cloth,'	„	आँचरा, अचरा.
आन्हर, 'blind,'	„	आन्हरा.
ईगुर, 'vermilion,'	„	ईगुरा.
बहीर, 'deaf,'	„	बहिरा.
लिलार, 'the forehead,'	„	लिलारा.

To these may be added the following,

अगूँ, आगूँ, 'front,'	<i>oblique</i>	अगाँ, आगाँ, 'before.'
पछूँ, पाछूँ, 'rear,'	„	पकाँ, पाकाँ, 'behind.'
ठाँईँ, 'place,'	„	ठैयाँ, 'in a place.'

Examples are,—

*Direct*, आँगन सुन देखि, 'seeing the courtyard empty,' *Man.* 3, 15.

नफ़न (*i. e.*, नैन) नोराफ़ल, 'her eyes filled with tears,' *ib.*

पहिल खण्ड हम लेब, 'I shall take the first portion,' *Fable*, 7.

बड़ (*dir.*) अनुरोध बड़ा (*obl.*) पय राख, 'lay (the burden of) great favours upon the great,' *Vid.* 3, 6.

दोसर रोये चन्ना, 'the second one who weeps is Channá,' *Mars.* 3, 2.

तीनिक तेसर, 'the third after three,' *Vid.* 9, 1.

जे परि पहर सूति गेल, 'how the watch went to sleep,' *Man.* 6, 17.

बाड़ु कन्हैया मोर आचर, 'let go, O Krishn, my cloth,' *Vid.* 21, 3.

आन्हर कुकुर बसातेँ भूखे, 'a blind dog barks at the wind,'  
*Prov.*

It is not necessary to give examples of other direct forms in र.

आगू (or आगूँ) थलथल, 'a pendulous front,' *Mth. Chr. Voc.*  
*s. v. आग.*

पाकूँ (or पाकूँँ) भारी, 'a heavy behind,' *ib. s. v. पाकूँ.*

I do not know of any authoritative example of ठाँईँ, but the word is common colloquially.

*Oblique*, कटगर तर अँगना केओ राख, 'does any one keep a thorn tree in his courtyard,' *Man.* 2, 7.

नैना काजर पेन्हि लेलि, 'on her eyes she applied collyrium,'  
*Sal.* 18.

I do not know of any authoritative example of पहिला, but it is commonly used in conversation to mean, 'at first'.

An example of बडा has been given above.

तेसराक अन्त, 'the end of the third,' *Vid.* 60, 3.

सलहेसक पहरा सँ, 'from Salhes's watch,' *Sal.* 12.

अचरा डगरिआ बहारिनेँ, 'I would have swept the road with my cloth,' *Gorakhpúri songs*, No. 12.

बहिराक सुतनहिँ की, अन्हराक जगनहिँ की, 'what does a deaf man lose by sleeping, or a blind man by waking,'  
*Prov.*

लिलरा सोभेला इंगुरा के रोरिआ ना, 'on the forehead the fragments of red lead are beautiful,' *Gor. Sgs.*, No. 1.

अगाँ पकाँ\* बिदा भेल, 'they departed one behind the other,'  
*Sal.* 17.

बिचे ठैँयाँ बरहो बिओगवा, 'in the middle place, (write) the separation of twelve (months).' *Gor. Sgs.* No. 3.

Finally we come to the two verbal nouns in ब and ल, described in *Mth. Gr.* § 189. These two forms are current throughout all the dialects of Bihári, as will be seen later on, and in nearly all these dialects, they have an oblique form as follows :

*Banáras Bhojpúri.*

*Direct.*

देखब

देखल

*Oblique.*

देखबे.

देखले.

\* The text has अगा पका but अगाँ पकाँ would be more correct. There is a tendency in the *theth bolí* to drop nasal sounds.

*Bhojpúrí.*

देखव (rare)

not used.

देखल

देखला.

*Examples,**Direct,* ऊ कहल करेला, 'he does speaking,' 'he speaks frequently.'*Oblique,* पढ़तउला सेँ का होला, 'what comes from regretting?', where पढ़तउला is the oblique form of पढ़तावल. (*Fable 15*).*Maithilí-Bhojpúrí.*

देखव, (rare)

not used,

देखल

देखला,

*Examples,**Direct,* ऊ कहल करइअ, 'he speaks frequently.'*Oblique,* पढ़तौला से की हो सकइत हइ, 'what can come of regretting?' where पढ़तौला is oblique form of पढ़तावल.*Northern Maithilí.*

देखव

देखवा.

*Examples,**Direct,* ऊनक कानब सुनि, 'hearing her cries,' (*Sal. 5*).*Oblique,* पढ़तैबाक नहिँ चाही, 'it is not proper to regret,' (*Fable 15*), where पढ़तैबाक is the genitive of पढ़ताप्रब, (for पढ़तप्रबाक).Occasionally the oblique form in this dialect ends in आँ; *e. g.*,किछु कहवाँ लागु 'she began to say something,' *Man. 1, 12*.

देखल

देखला.

*Direct,* ओ कहल करैअहि, 'he speaks frequently.' (*Grammar*).*Oblique,* दौड़धूप कैला सँ किच्छु नहिँ हैत, 'from fussing nothing will come to pass.' (*Fable 14*).

The verbal noun in ल has had an influence even on foreign words. Thus the Arabic word बदल, has an oblique form बदला, as in the sentence, छहिँ उपकारक बदला, 'in exchange for this benefit,' (*Fable 15*).

*Southern Maithilí.**Purniyá Maithilí.*

Same as Northern Maithilí.

*Bhagulpúrí-Maithilí* has the oblique form of देखव, देखवै, but authoritative examples are wanting. It has for the oblique form of देखल, देखला or देखलव, according to locality.

In *Maithil-Mágadhí* the verbal noun in व appears to have dropped out of use. The verbal noun in ल follows Northern Maithilí.

Finally, *Mágadhí* agrees with Maithilí.



We thus find that with the exception of a doubtful form in Bhagulpúr, and the extreme Western case of Banáras-Bhojpúri, an oblique form of verbal nouns in ब and ल, ending in बा and ला obtains more or less currency.

In South Bhagulpúr this ला is weakened to लव, which it is important to note, as it gives the clue to the derivation of another set of oblique forms to be now noted.

In the *Maithilí of South Bhagulpúr* nouns ending in a silent consonant (that is to say weak forms in अ), vocalize that consonant in the oblique cases. Thus घर, 'a house,' Acc. घरव कैँ. The same dialect has a feminine genitive affix केरी, the masculine of which is केरव, which leads one to presume that as in the same district देखलव is a weakened form of देखला, so also घरव is a weakened form of घरा.

In *Mágadhí* such nouns ending in a silent consonant (that is to say weak forms in अ) have an oblique form in उ: thus, घर, Obl. घरै. Mágadhí immediately adjoins the Maithilí of Bhagulpúr, and hence it is evident that this oblique form is weakened from घरा. The weakening of आ to उ is borne out by the old Maithilí accusative postposition काँ, which has become in modern Maithilí कैँ, and the close connection between उ and अ is shown by the indeclinable participle of the root कर 'to do,' which is either कैँ (Mth. Gr. § 172) or कैँ (Vid. 66, 5).

This concludes the discussion concerning the different varieties of oblique forms in Bihári which end in आ. To sum up, we may reduce what we have observed to the following.

In Bhojpúri the affix of the genitive has an oblique form in आ, thus कैँ, oblique का; and in all Bihári dialects the pronouns have an oblique genitive in आ, thus एकर, उकरा. This oblique genitive is also used as a general oblique declensional base.

In Mágadhí, and a cognate sub-dialect, all nouns in the weak form have an oblique form in उ or अ, thus, घर, *oblique* घरै or घरव.

This oblique उ or अ is either a weakened form of or a form closely connected with the above oblique form in आ.

In the majority of Bihári dialects, verbal nouns in ब and ल, have oblique forms in आ or आँ, and so also there are cases of other and even foreign nouns in र, ड, न, and ल which have similar oblique forms; also a few cases of nouns ending in ईँ, and ऊँ.

[Note on some apparently irregular forms in the song of Salhes.

It must be remembered that this song is printed exactly as it was taken down from the mouth of a Dom. These Doms are great wanderers, and hence besides the *theth* or vulgar forms (such as देल for देलक &c.) which abound in it, there are one or two forms which must be referred to other dialects, viz.

*Sal.* 7. तोहरे कारन, Banáras Bhojpúri for तोहरा कारन. The form is never used in Maithilí.

*Sal.* 18. चिन्हले लोग अनचिन्ह भै गेल, if this means 'recognized people became unrecognized,' it must also be Banáras Bhojpúri. It may, however, mean 'in recognition, people became unrecognized,' in which case चिन्हले is the regular locative of the verbal noun चिन्हल, 'recognition,' obl. चिन्हला, instr. चिन्हलें, loc. चिनले. Similarly in

*Sal.* 18. सुखले नदी पार भै जाप्रब, सुखले may be considered as locative of सुखल, and the sentence mean literally, 'in dryness I will cross the river.' The following also are locatives:—

*Sal.* 17, 18. असले, 'in reality.'

*Sal.* 7, 12, 14. लगले, 'at once.'

*Sal.* 12, पहिले. 'at first.'

*Sal.* 20. लड़ने, 'in fighting,' for लड़ले, न being frequently substituted for ल in *theth bolí*: as it is also done in the line immediately preceding where we have खेहारने for खेहारलें, and in the very common and vulgar खेने or खेने जाप्रब for खेले जाप्रब, (*see gram.* § 197).

The only other form to be noted is the anomalous

*Sal.* 19. जाति के हम नटिन, 'by caste I am a gipsy,' where के is not a Maithilí, but a western form appropriate enough in the mouth of such a woman. Compare, however, *Sal.* 20, हम जातिक कसबीन].

### Derivation.

We have already seen that the oblique plural in न or न्ह (नि or न्हि) is derived from the Sanskrit genitive plural; and by parity of reasoning we should be led to expect that the Bihári oblique form singular in आ is derived from the Sanskrit genitive singular. It will now be shown that this is the fact.\* It must be observed that these oblique forms are used (as far as we have hitherto investigated) only with nouns in the weak form. Thus, जनक, एकर, देखब, देखल, घर, are all weak forms. Strong nouns of the अ base in आ are commonly said to remain unchanged in the oblique cases, thus, घोड़ा, 'a horse,' obl. घोड़ा, but in reality as will also be now seen, the oblique form, though the same in appearance as the nominative, is of different derivation,—in short, just as घर (nominative) corresponds to Skr. गृहं, and घरा (old form of oblique घरव) to Skr. गृहस्य; so घोड़ा (nominative) corresponds to Skr. घोटकः, and घोड़ा (oblique) to Skr. घोटकस्य. We thus come to the general rule that strong forms of अ bases always, and weak forms of अ bases frequently have an oblique form in आ.

\* With regard to the following, see Hoernle, pp. 194, 195. I have, however, come to slightly different conclusions.

Let us take weak forms first :—

(1). Skr. nom. sing. गृहं 'a house;' gen. sing. गृहस्य; Mágadhí Pr. nom. sing. घरं, 'a house,' gen. sing. घरश्श, hence (घरास) घराह; hence, by elision of final ह, Bihári oblique form, घरा.

(2). Skr. nom. sing. कर्त्तव्यं, 'what is to be done;' gen. sing. कर्त्तव्यस्य; Mg. Pr. nom. sing. करेअव्वं; gen. sing. करेअव्वश्श, करेअव्वाह; hence Bihári nominative करब, 'what is to be done,' 'an action;' oblique करवा 'of an action:' Bihári locative, करवा मेँ = Mg. Pr. करेअव्वाह मज्झि; Skr. कर्त्तव्यस्य मध्ये.

(3). Skr. nom. sing. कृतं, 'a thing done;' gen. sing. कृतस्य; Mg. Pr. nom. sing. कलिदं (as if from Skr. करितं), gen. sing. कलिदश्श, कलिदाह; Arddha Mg. Pr. nom. sing. कलिअं; gen. sing. कलिआह; Bihári nom. sing. कइल (कैल) 'an action,' loc. sing. कइला (कैला) मेँ = Pr. कलिदश्श मज्झि = Skr. करितस्य (कृतस्य) मध्ये, 'in an action.'

One example of a strong form will suffice, Skr. nom. sing. घोटकः, 'a horse;' gen. sing. घोटकस्य; Mg. Pr. nom. sing. घोडक, 'a horse,' gen. sing. घोडकश्श, घोडआह; Bihári, nom. sing. घोड़ा, 'a horse,' oblique form, घोड़ा, loc. sing. घोड़ा मेँ, = Mg. Pr. घोडआह मज्झि, = Skr. घोटकस्य मध्ये.

Similarly the Bihári oblique form in आँ, is really a plural, and is derived from the Sanskrit genitive plural, through the Mg. Pr. gen. plur. in आहँ (H. C. IV, 300), thus,—

Skr. nom. sing. \*कथितव्यं (for कथयितव्यं), 'what is to be said;' gen. plur. \*कथितव्यानां; Mg. Pr. nom. sing. कहिअव्वं; gen. plur. कहिअव्वाहँ; Ap. Pr. nom. sing. कहिव्वं (K. I. 50); gen. plur. कहिव्वहँ; hence Bihári nom. sing. कहब; obl. (with elision of ह and contraction of concurrent vowels) कहवाँ (for कहवअँ); loc. plur. कहवाँ मेँ = Ap. Pr. कहिव्वहँ मज्झि = Mg. Pr. कहिअव्वाहँ मज्झि = Skr. \*कथितव्यानां मध्ये.

Note, it is difficult to derive the Bihári oblique form from the Ap. Pr. gen. termination अज्ज, for, though this would account for strong forms like घोड़ा (= घोड़अज्ज by contraction of the two concurrent vowels), it will not account for weak forms like घरा, which would be in Ap. Pr. घरज्ज, and not घरअज्ज. But see contra Hoernle, pp. 194, 195.

### *Affinity.*

One affinity must be noted here, the Bangáli so-called gerund in the genitive case in आर, e. g. देखवार; that is to say देखवा + र, just as in Bihári we have देखवाक, देखवा + क;—र and क being respectively the signs of the genitive.

### *Other oblique forms.*

There is another oblique form of the verbal noun which requires careful noting. We find it in the following forms :—



Baiswári	देखै,
Banáras Bhojpúri	देखै (? देखै).
Bhojpúri	देखै.
Maithil Bhojpúri	देखै.
North Maithilí	देखै, देखठ, (Purniyá) देखै,
South Maithilí	देखै, देखै, देखठ.
Maithil-Bangáli	देखै,
Maithil-Mágadhí	देखै, देखठ,
Mágadhí	देखै.

These forms are all of them oblique, and are never used in the sense of the nominative. They are especially common in compound verbs, in the sense of the dative, *e. g.*, in the phrase घड़ी बाजै चहैइलि, “the clock wished for the act of striking,” *i. e.*, “was about to strike,” मारै लागल, “he became attached to beating,” *i. e.*, “he began to beat.”

Verbs ending in vowels sometimes insert a euphonic व or ब, so that we get phrases like पिबैक भर, “the fill of drinking,” “as much as one can drink.” Examples of this form are very common, and one or two others will be given subsequently.

I have met one or two other cases of nouns, which are not verbal nouns, such as आरि, ‘an edge,’ having a similar oblique form.

*Examples,—*

(*Direct*) आरि जाइ तठ कपार लाठी, ‘if you go to the edge (of a field), have a stick (to protect) your head,’ *Mth. Prov.*

(*Oblique*) आरै पास लिखिहो, ‘write near the edge,’ *Gor. Sgs. 3.*

It will be seen that in all the dialects (except, perhaps, Banáras Bhojpúri), the termination is short, and that each dialect has one or more of these terminations, *viz.*, ऐ, ए, or अ. To trace the derivation of these forms it will be more convenient, first to consider the derivation of the suffix of the Genitive, which as will be seen further on occurs in the following forms in the various dialects of Bihári कै, कौ, and क, or in old Bihári कठ, as in Rám. Bá. do., 35, नीके तुलसी कठ, in which कठ is written an absolutely separate word. These genitival affixes are all derived from the Sanskrit क्तः, through the Mg. Pr. किए. Here we have a termination ऐ, ए, or अ, formed from a Mg. Pr. termination in इए.

Now, to trace the derivation of the Bihári oblique form, we are bound by all analogy to refer it to a Mg. Pr. genitive case, and, judging from the analogy of कै, कौ, or कठ, we may refer the oblique form of the verbal noun of which we are now treating to a Mg. Pr. genitive case in इए or ईए.

We shall now change the example, and take the root मार, ‘beat,’ as more convenient to deal with than the root देख, ‘see,’ which has only doubtful equivalents in Prákrit. We are entitled, then, as above shown, to derive मारै, मारै, or मारठ from a Mg. Pr. genitive मारिए or मारौए, if



such exists. Such a form as मारौए does exist both in Śaurasenī and Mágadhī Prākṛit (see Vara. V, 22). Feminine nouns in long ई, form their genitives in ईए, thus नई, “a river,” gen. sing. नईए. Moreover, just as मारौ, is weakened to मारठ, so in later Prākṛit नईए, is weakened to नईआ, or नईअ.

We may hence conclude that मारौ is the direct descendent of मारौए, the genitive singular of the Mágadhī Prākṛit feminine noun मारौ.

It now remains (a) to see what has become of this Prākṛit nom. fem. मारौ in the later Gauḍian languages, and (b) to trace it to its Sanskrit origin.

(a). The usual phonetic law of development is that Prākṛit nouns ending in long vowels, shorten these vowels in the modern Gauḍian languages. Under another well known Gauḍian phonetic law, these final short vowels are, in some dialects, liable to elision. Hence we should expect to find a form मारि or मार in the modern languages. Both these forms do exist in the modern languages. Eastern Gauḍian (*i. e.*, Bangálí, and Bihári) prefers the form मारि,\* while western Gauḍian and Maráṭhí prefer the shortened form मार. In all these cases the word is feminine, which shows that मार cannot be derived from a Prākṛit masc. nom. मारो; and the derivation I have suggested is borne out by the following reasons.

(1.) Western Hindí possesses a parallel strong form मारौ, derived from the Prākṛit strong form मारिआ, which is itself the strong form of the Prākṛit मारौ, from which the modern मारि or मार is derived.

(2.) The declension of this verbal noun in Maráṭhí (see Man. 2nd Ed., p. 53) shows clearly the derivation. In the second declension of Maráṭhí nouns, all nouns derived from Sanskrit nouns in इ (such as भिंत, ‘a wall’ from Skr. भित्ति) or ई (such as सुंठ “dry ginger,” from Skr. शुंठी) form their oblique form in ई, thus,—भिंती and सुंठी. This is plainly derived from the Prākṛit genitive भिन्तीअ, भिन्तीइ (Var. V, 22) and शुंठीअ or शुंठीइ, the genitive of feminine nouns in ई and इ having in Prākṛit similar forms. But in Maráṭhí another class of nouns also follows the same declension, *viz.*, “feminine nouns derived from Maráṭhí verbs,” such as वूट, ‘a deficiency,’ obl. वूटी, connected with तुटणे “to break;” and मार, “a beating,” connected with मारणे “to beat.” That is to say, they are derived from Prākṛit nouns in ई or इ, *viz.*, Maráṭhí वूट, obl. वूटी, corresponds to the Prākṛit तुट्टी, gen. तुट्टीइ, and Maráṭhí मार, obl. मारौ; H. dir. मार or मारि; Bihári मारि, obl. मारौ correspond to the Pr. मारौ, gen. मारौइ, or मारौए.

In this series, I have given no oblique form for Hindí. In the majority of cases this has disappeared in that language, but it survives in

\* Maithilí prefers the form मारि, but Bhojpurí and Mágadhí (except in poetry) always have मार.

phrases like मारा मारी (a beating on a beating) 'a mutual assault,' दौड़ा दौड़ी, 'a mutual running,' 'a running here and there.' In these phrases मारी and दौड़ी are the direct strong forms corresponding to the Prákrit nominative मारिञ्चा, and दवडिञ्चा respectively, but मारा and दौड़ा are distinctly oblique forms, which I would derive as follows :—

<i>Pr. nom.</i>	<i>Pr. gen.</i>	<i>Hindí obl.</i>
मारी	मारीञ्चा (Var. V, 22)	मारा
दवडी	दवडीञ्चा	दौड़ा.

The contraction of these terminations दञ्चा to च्चा need not cause any objection. ईञ्चा would naturally become चा, and finally च्चा, just as Pr. किञ्चो, became कौ and finally का, and Pr. कहिञ्चो became Hindí कह्यौ and finally H. H., कहा. Moreover the form in Páli is मारिया, दवडिया, with a short penultimate, and though no similar form is recorded for Ap. Pr. still H. C. IV, 329 would entitle us to assume the possible existence of such a one.

This direct verbal noun मार or मारि is what is called the root in Hindí grammars. It occurs frequently in Intensive compounds in forms like मार देना, 'to give a beating', &c., and in the so-called conjunctive participle मार के or मारि के or (with the के dropped) simply मार, 'having beaten,' literally 'having done a beating.' So also कर के 'having done the action of doing,' and मार कर के 'having done the action of doing a beating.' के, as will be shown under the head of conjugation, = the Vedic Skr. कर्त्तृ (Skr. कृत्वा), 'having done'; hence, Sr. Pr. करिञ्च (H. C. 4, 271), and Hindí (with elision of र) के. Mg. Pr. (Vara. XI, 16) has instead करिदाणि, hence (through करिञ्चाणि,) the corresponding Bihári form कै. (See, however, Hoernle, § 491, for a different explanation of the forms.)

The oblique Hindí form of the verbal noun, मारा, also occurs in Desiderative compounds; *e. g.* वह मारा चाहता है, 'he wishes to beat,' in which मारा is for मारा लिये 'he wishes for a beating'. This is borne out by the Bihári practice of introducing the post-position ला in such compounds; *e. g.*, (Mágadhí) भेजो ला चाहतु ही, 'I wish for sending,' 'I wish to send' (Gr. § 118). It also explains the fact that in Hindí this form (mis-called by grammarians the Past Participle) does not change for gender. Moreover in Hindí it explains clearly the (so-called) anomalous forms जाया (not गया) चाहना, 'to wish to go,' and मरा (not मुचा) चाहना 'to wish to die' (see Kellogg, p. 193). The same form (with the dative particle ला) is also used in Maráthí; *e. g.*, (Man. p. 151) वाटतेँ मला खाया ला पाहतो, 'I fancy he wishes to eat me.'

To recapitulate therefore ;—

There is a Prákrit feminine nominative मारी, which is the direct ancestor of the Gaudian verbal noun मार or मारि.

This Prákrit fem. has a genitive which has three forms to be noted at present, *viz.*, मारीए, मारीइ, मारीआ, from which I derive the Gauḍian oblique forms as follows :—

Prá. nom.	Gauḍian nom.	Prá. gen.	Gauḍian obl.
(strong form) मारीआ	Bihári मारि	मारीए	मारै
	Maráṭhí मार	मारीइ	मारी
	H. मार	मारीआ	मारा
	H. मारी	मारिअहे (Ap.)	मारी

(b.) It now remains to trace this Prákrit मारी to its Sanskrit original. This is the abstract noun formed in Sanskrit by the affix टाप् or अङ्. These two affixes are closely connected, only differing in the kind of verb with which they are employed. They form verbal nouns by adding आ to the stem. Thus—

*Verbal stem.*

जीव् “live”

लेख् (लिख) “write”

*Verbal noun.*

जीवा “life”

लेखा “a line”

and so many others.

Sometimes a parallel feminine form is found in ई (affix डीप्). Example

नद् “roar”

मार् “kill”

नदी “a river.”

मारी “a pestilence.”

The rules as to which stems in Sanskrit take आ and which take ई, are very intricate, and in the vulgar language were certainly not always adhered to. At any rate, in Prákrit we find the termination ई superseding the termination आ, so that we have (Var. V, 24).

<i>Sanskrit.</i>	<i>Prákrit.</i>
सहमाना, “enduring.”	सहमाणा or सहमाणी.
हरिद्रा, “turmeric.”	हलदा or हलदी.
छाया, “shade.”	काहा or काही.

Vararuchi in the *Sútra* confines the change to four words only, but we find the option largely extended in the later Prákrit of Hemachandra



(III, 32, &c.), and it is therefore only fair to assume that in the modern languages the change had become the rule.

We are justified therefore in considering that the Gaudian verbal noun ending in इ or in a silent consonant, is derived from the Sanskrit feminine verbal noun in आ or ई (टाप् or अङ् or डीप्).

In conclusion I now give examples of the various forms (direct and oblique) of this verbal noun.

(a) Direct form ending in इ.

बर कन्या के भेंट नहिँ, अटोंगर लै मारि, “the bridegroom has not yet met the bride, and they are fighting about the wedding bracelet,” *Prov.*

देखि ओ नव भेल पड़ तौरा, “the act even of seeing thee, my husband, did not take place,” *i. e.*, “you were not even seen by me.” *Vid.* V, 5.

This last is a good example of the formation of the passive voice from this form of the verbal noun. Observe that देखि in the last example must be a verbal noun. If it is attempted to construe it in the sense of the conjunctive participle, nonsense can only ensue. Observe also that it is still a *verbal* noun, and governs the accusative (तौरा).

(b). Direct form ending in a silent consonant. (H. Hindí) सुभ को बड़ी मार मारा, “he beat me a great beating,” Beames, C. G. II, 50.

(c). Oblique form ending in ऐ or ए.

सुमिरै लागल देबी असावरि, “he began remembering the goddess Asávari,” *Sal.* 10.

लावै गेल अय्यन भाई मोतीराम, “he went for the bringing of his brother Motírám,” *i. e.*, “he went to bring him.” *Sal.* 20.

*Bhojpúri*,—फुल लोढ़े गेलोँ, ‘I went for plucking flowers,’ *Gor. Sgs.* 1. तो का करे ऐलू, ‘for doing what did you come,’ *ib.*

*Baiswári*,—पर अब सुनै सहसदस काना, “with ten thousand ears for hearing others’ faults.” *Rám. Bá. ch.* 5, 9.

(d & e). Oblique form in आ, and strong direct form in ई.

(H. H.) मारा मारी, “a mutual beating.”

(f). Oblique form in ई.

Maráthí, या तोडी चा घोडा कोडे नाही, “nowhere is there a horse of this kind.” Molesworth, *s. v.* तोड.

We have already seen that the Bihári terminations हि, हिँ, ड and ड were originally used as terminations of the genitive in Prákrit. We may hence expect to meet them also used as terminations of general oblique base in Bihári. This will be found to be the case. I have not noted any instances of हिँ being so used, but instances of the other three are common. The following examples are taken from Manbodh’s Haribans.

हि,—अगिलहि दिन सभ उपटल सपटि, ‘next day all arose together,’ 4, 7.

बिखहिक (बिखहि+क) आगि शिखा, ‘the flame of fire was (one) of poison,’ 4, 21.



पहिलहि सेँ मोहि दुग दुग रह्य, 'from the first, have I had this fear,' 6, 21.

ऊ,—लागल सबडक मुँह पनिद्या, 'the mouths of all began to water, 5, 2.

ऊँ,—हरिऊँक आँखि आपुल भरि नोर, 'the eyes of Hari became filled with tears', 9, 52.

अगनऊँ सेँ बहरायि, 'he goes out from the courtyard,' 3, 2.

*Note on the preceding Essay.*—By A. F. RUDOLF HOERNLE, PH. D.

The great difficulty which one still too commonly meets in the comparative study of the Gaudian languages, with regard to the derivation of their inflectional forms, is the want of continuity in the descent of the latter. We know them in their modern Gaudian stage, and in their ancient Prákrit stage; but very often the intermediate links are unknown. These would have to be looked for in the popular literature of the period intermediate between Gaudian and Prákrit; that is, about 700 to 1000 years ago. I say, the *popular* literature, because the Gaudians are not descended from the Literary Prákrits, but from the vernacular (Apabhramśa) forms of Prákrit. Of such popular literature, if it existed, very little has survived, or, at least, is known to have survived. One of the oldest specimens is the Hindí Epic of Chand, the *Prithiráj Rásau*, which is about 700 years old. Moreover, this as well as nearly all of the older popular literature known to us is in verse, while, for the particular question of derivation, prose literature would be far more useful.

Besides such fragments of survived popular literature, some help is afforded by those portions of the later Prákrit grammars which treat of the Apabhramśa Prákrit, and in which their authors have embodied many comparatively modern forms, current in their own time, mixed up with much older forms known to them traditionally. This remark applies, for example, to the grammar of Hemachandra, who lived about 750 years ago.

Whenever the intermediate links are wanting, it is both natural and right to bridge the gap by the help of conjecture, and it is nothing surprising, that conjecture sometimes takes differing lines and arrives at different results. There are, however, instances of forms, of which the series of links of descent is almost, if not entirely, complete; and it may be hoped, that gradually, as our knowledge extends, their number will increase.

One such instance occurs among the forms referred to in the preceding Essay. This is the form ending in ऐँ, ऐँ or ऐ, ए and occurring in such words as पाके or पीके "behind" or "afterwards", जैसे-तैसे "as-so," etc. These forms